727 and were so successfully incorporated that there were never any cases of defection, even in wars upon their native villages.

554 784 727 The greatest honor went to the men who had taken heads. They were referred to as dajeboishi, or, literally translated, "mother of the game." Such was their distinction that they were usually addressed by the short form title ajeboi. Proscriptions were relatively rare in Mundurucú culture, but a very elaborate series of taboos was observed by the trophy head owner and his wife. For a period of three years after his return he was not allowed intercourse with his wife, and he was not even supposed to look at other women. He spoke to the men only when necessary and avoided familiar contact with them. He didnot hunt, but went into the forest at a distance from the hunting party and after the first kill retired to the village. His presence brought the [789] magical charm of the head into the forest and made the animals fall an easy prey to the arrows of the hunters. The Mundurucú still say that in the days when the men's house had enemy heads in it there was a lot more food in the village.

During this period, certain taboos were observed by the wife of the trophy head owner. She did no household work, and she could not bathe in the stream. In general, she held herself aloof from the other women. She was aided 554 727 at all times by a woman of the other moiety who acted as a servant to her. During three successive winters, the trophy

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

776 The *mambat ši* are delayed in their journey in certain years, and the rains then
821 arrive late. There is no way by which humans can hasten their return.

Although the Mundurucú have no supernatural techniques to induce or stop
[789] rain, they believe that they can frighten the mothers of the rain by planting a bow in the ground when a violent electrical storm threatens. Significantly, they generally resort to such preventative measures at the beginning of the rainy season, a period when storms frequently threaten but seldom strike. I have never seen them attempt to frighten electrical storms away after the full force of the rainy season has arrived.

In the old days, say Mundurucú informants, extremely powerful shamans were able to see the *mambat ši*, who always took the form of black deer when they traveled. When a shaman sighted one of these invisible animals he knew that it would rain and that it would be useless to go hunting.

Karökö Spirits

534 The *karökö* is a set of three trumpets, or more precisely, resonant chambers, which
778 are kept in a small enclosed room attached to the men's house of each Mundurucú
776 village. These trumpets are functionally equivalent to the more widely distributed
614 bull-roarer. They are taboo to the sight of women, to whom they are believed to have once belonged, and they are endowed with supernatural qualities. This supernatural aspect of the *karökö* stems from the belief that they harbor certain spirits. These are of three categories. First, each set of trumpets is believed to possess a soul (*ibiunbök*) that resides within the instruments. Again, each set of trumpets is considered to be the property of a certain clan and the residence of the *tubö*, or eponymous ancestor, of the clan. Finally, each set of trumpets has a group of spirit "companions" (*karökö ejewot*). All three categories of spirit, when properly propitiated, act to protect the village in which the trumpets are housed.

534 The interrelationship of the various spirits of the trumpets with the structure
778 of clan and phratry organization has been analyzed elsewhere,[11] but a brief recapit-
776 ulation is necessary in order to understand fully the place of these supernaturals
174 in contemporary Mundurucú culture. As mentioned in chapter I, the Mundurucú
614 at one time practiced patrilocal residence, and their patrilineal clans had a residential basis in patrilineages. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the clan was once localized, and clan and village were equivalent units. During this period, what are now only the *karökö* of certain villages were also the *karökö* of clan groups. The clan ancestors were contained within the trumpets and exerted a benevolent influence over the clan-village unit. Clan, ancestor, and trumpet were all named after the same eponymous object, whether animal, fish, or plant. Each trumpet also had a spirit companion which was given a plant or animal name other than that of the clan. Ensuing population growth produced segmentation and the formation of new local lineages, some of which in time became localized clans in their own right. The offspring clans adopted new spirit companions for their trumpets but kept those of the parent clan, also. The sharing of a spirit com-

[11] Murphy, 1956.

/15 cont./

*241 Also:

192 pepper—achi, achi a, four varieties
262 banana—aku, 11 varieties
cotton—buru, two varieties
urucú—tyuku, tyuku a
papaya—asãu a, two varieties

*241 There is, therefore, a small group of plants which are found in the gardens as well as out: pepper, bananas, cotton, urucú, and papayas.

[249] For certain plant species, such as for example tobacco and the curauá pineapple, a plot of ground is often set aside, or a small garden is prepared separately.

249 Aside from these plants, which are useful to subsistence, the Mundurukú also have a certain number of vegetables which back-
[302] woodsmen call "smell" and which they use when they are bathing, to give their body, and especially their hair, a more pleasant odor.

[757] A few herbs are also cultivated for medicinal purposes. Others yet
[789] are used in the practice of certain superstitions and charms. Although I am aware that these subjects are not directly related to agriculture, I mention them in passing since "cultivated plants" are involved.

*241 From this list, it becomes clear that the Mundurukú must have
177 had considerable contact with civilization and with other tribes to have acquired such a number of useful plants. As for the ancient stock of plants cultivated by the Indians in the Amazon forest, tubercles must be mentioned first and foremost. Moreover, /16/ it seems that the use of some of these typically native plants, such as for example curauá pineapple or sweet manioc, is not very old, for a series of tribes possessing a type of agriculture quite similar to that of the Mundurukú are not yet familiar with the cultivation of sweet manioc or curauá pineapple. (9)

[171] 9. Thus, for instance, the majority of the Carib tribes of the Brazilian Guianas are unfamiliar with the cultivation